

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-09

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DRAFTED BY EA/PHL:BAFLECK:ECHULEN:PAW

APPROVED BY EA:JOZURHELLEN, JR.

NSC:JTAYLOR S/S:FVORTIZ

OSD/ISA:MABRAMOWITZ (DRAFT)

PM:GCHURCHILL/S/S:MR. ORTIZ

JCS:BRIG. GEN YOUREE (DRAFT)

L/EA:EVERVILLE

AF:MAG. GEN. R.LAWSON (DRAFT)

ISA/PPNSC:MR. MITCHELL (DRAFT)

OGC:MR. ALMOND (SUBSTANCE)

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R 211440Z AUG 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MANILA

INFO CINCPAC HONO HI

S E C R E T STATE 198711

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: MARR, MASS, RP, US

SUBJECT: MILITARY BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REFS: A. MANILA 10311; B. MANILA 10811

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. WE WELCOME REPORT CONTAINED REFTTEL OF YOUR IN-TIAL EX-
PLORATORY CONVERSATION WITH MARCOS REGARDING BASE NEGOTIA-
TIONS. UNTIL YOU CAN OBTAIN FROM HIM AS CLEAR A STATEMENT
AS POSSIBLE OF WHAT HE WANTS, WE CANNOT, AS YOU POINTED OUT
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TO HIM, EXAMINE THE ISSUES REALISTICALLY. HIS PUBLIC
SPEECHES AND THOSE OF ROMULO, MELCHOR, ET AL, HAVE
OFTEN BEEN CONTRADICTORY, FREQUENTLY VAGUE, AND CONTAIN
VARYING AMOUNTS OF POSTURING. WE WILL BE PLEASED EVEN IF

THE GOP ONLY PARTIALLY ADOPTS YOUR EXCELLENT SUGGESTION THAT THEY DROP THE RHETORIC.

2. IN TERMS OF OUR OWN PREPARATION FOR BASE NEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE IN MIND THREE STAGE PROCESS. THE FIRST, RECEIVING MARCOS' VIEWS, HAS ALREADY BEGUN. ARMED WITH MORE PRECISE VIEWS WHICH WE HOPE HE WILL GIVE YOU, WE CAN PROCEED WITH SECOND STAGE OF EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF PHILIPPINE VIEWS ON THE U.S. ROLE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES. THIRD STAGE WOULD BE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. WE WOULD FORMULATE OUR SPECIFIC NEGOTIATING POSITIONS ON BASIS OF OUR READING OF GOP FORMAL PROPOSALS MADE DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. IN YOUR SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATIONS WITH MARCOS, YOU SHOULD BE GUIDED BY POINTS MADE BELOW:

A. U.S. OBJECTIVE IS TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PHILIPPINES WHICH WILL SERVE OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN THE STABILITY OF ASIA IN THE POST-VIET-NAM ERA. CONSEQUENTLY, WE WISH TO MAINTAIN OUR BASE AND OPERATING RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES (ESPECIALLY AT SUBIC BAY/CUBI POINT COMPLEX AND CLARK AB) CONSISTENT WITH OBLIGATIONS WITH RESPECT TO DEFENSE OF THE PHILIPPINES, AND FOR LARGER STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS, INCLUDING THE REST OF ASIA, THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND THE SEA AND AIR LANES LEADING THERETO. WE ARE, THEREFORE, GRATIFIED BY RECENT MARCOS STATEMENT TO CODEL WOLFF (REF B) THAT GOP WILL CONTINUE TO EXTEND TO U.S. THE USE OF ALL FACILITIES REQUIRED TO ENABLE U.S. CONTRIBUTE TO EQUILIBRIUM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THROUGH CONTROL OF SEA LANES AND AIR LANES OF WESTERN PACIFIC.

B. WE HOPE THAT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH GOP WHICH WILL MEET THE EXPRESSED CONSIDERATIONS AND PRESSURES OF PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM, SATISFY OUR MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, SUSTAIN OUR MILITARY PRESENCE AS A STABILIZING FACTOR IN THE REGION OVER THE LONGER TERM, AND RENDER OUR CONTINUED USE OF THE BASES DEMONSTRABLY USEFUL TO THE GOP.

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C. WE CONSIDER THAT ALL REVISIONS OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS ALREADY ACCEPTED BY NEGOTIATING PANELS OVER PAST FEW YEARS SHOULD STAND INTACT AS NEW PROVISIONS OF UMBRELLA AGREEMENT. AT EARLY STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS YOU WILL BE REQUESTED TO SEEK PHILIPPINE CONFIRMATION SO THAT WE CAN PROCEED FROM ARTICLES PREVIOUSLY INITIALLED IN EARLIER PHASES OF DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE AWARE THAT THERE REMAIN OUTSTANDING DISAGREEMENTS ON SUCH KEY ISSUES AS OFFICIAL DUTY CERTIFICATES, TAXATION, ETC., BUT FOR TIME BEING WISH YOU TO STAND ON INSTRUCTIONS ALREADY PROVIDED ON THESE POINTS. REOPENING TECHNICAL DETAILS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE NUMEROUS DEPARTMENTS OF U.S. AND PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENTS MIGHT RESULT IN CHARGES OF BAD FAITH WHICH COULD PREJUDICE COOPERATION

WE HOPE TO OBTAIN ON CONTINUING BASIS DURING NEGOTIATIONS WITH KEY MEMBERS AND COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.

D. WE AWAIT GOP CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPT OF "FILIPINIZATION" PROMISED BY MARCOS AND WISH TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE. IN CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY OF CHANGES THERE WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE LIMITS ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD CAUSE US SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS OR

IMPEDE MISSION ACCOMPLISHMENT OF U.S. FORCES (INCLUDING U.S. CONTROL OF U.S. FORCES).

E. WE WELCOME MARCOS' WILLINGNESS TO PLACE THE "AUTOMATICITY" ISSUE "ON BACK BURNER" AND HIS REALIZATION OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WHICH ATTEMPTING TO RENEGOTIATE TREATY WOULD CAUSE IN DEALING WITH CONGRESS. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATIONS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT AS PRACTICAL MATTER, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MOST UNWISE AND EVEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO ATTEMPT TO RENEGOTIATE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY. (FYI. SAME CONSIDERATIONS WOULD APPLY TO ANY ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE SEPARATE BILATERAL AIR DEFENSE AGREEMENT. THIS TYPE OF AGREEMENT, COULD BE LOOKED UPON BY DOMESTIC CRITICS AS "BACK DOOR" ROUTE TO AUTOMATICITY AND THEREFORE COULD CONCEIVABLY BE ROCK ON WHICH WHOLE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT FOUNDER. THIS MATTER WILL HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH INFORMALLY. OUR POLICY STUDY WILL LOOK INTO OTHER WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT ENHANCE THE RELEVANCY OF THE BASES TO
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PHILIPPINE DEFENSE. END FYI.)

F. FORTUNATELY REQUEST FOR PAYMENT OF RENT FOR BASES HAS NOT FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN PHILIPPINE SPEECHES OR CONVERSATIONS TO DATE. NEVERTHELESS, WE ANTICIPATE THAT GOP WILL DEMAND SOME EXPLICIT QUID PRO QUO FOR CONTINUED U.S. USE OF BASES. PAYMENT OF RENT, AS SUCH, WOULD ENTAIL FINANCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DISADVANTAGES FOR US. THERE IS NO RECENT PRECEDENT FOR EXPLICIT RENTAL PAYMENTS FOR ANY MAJOR INSTALLATION INVOLVING U.S. COMBAT FORCES, OR PROVIDED BY A GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH THE U.S. HAS A DEFENSE TREATY. WE FEAR THAT AGREEING TO RENTAL PAYMENTS WOULD ERODE THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY OF INTEREST INHERENT IN THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY, LEAD TO DEMANDS FOR RENEGOTIATIONS OF ARRANGEMENTS ELSEWHERE, LEAD TO INFLATION IN QUIDS AS NEGOTIATING DEMANDS WOULD TEND TOWARD HIGHEST COMMON DENOMINATOR, AND RESULT IN PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE WHETHER BASES ARE WORTH THE PRICE. SHOULD MARCOS RAISE SUBJECT OF RENT, YOU SHOULD INDICATE TO HIM THAT EXPLICIT DIRECT CASH RENTAL WOULD POSE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FOR US.

G. YOU SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT DISCUSS WITH MARCOS OR GOP

AT THIS TIME WHETHER FINAL NEGOTIATED DOCUMENT WILL BE
REVISED MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT OR NEW MILITARY BASES
TREATY. MERITS OF TREATY OR EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT ARE STILL
UNDER STUDY HERE.

4. WE ARE PREPARED TO RECEIVE AND CONSIDER INITIAL GOP
PROPOSALS AT ANY TIME. MAW

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